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Exploring New Frontiers in Women's Entrepreneurship Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa

Keywords: Women's Entrepreneurship; Entrepreneurship Policy; Gender; Institutional Theory; Sub-Saharan Africa; Tanzania.

Abstract

Topic: This paper focuses on women's entrepreneurship policy in Sub-Saharan Africa, a topic that fits well with the conference theme "*SPACE – Exploring new frontiers and entrepreneurial places.*" As a discrete field of scholarship, women's entrepreneurship continues to grow in both academic and political appeal, with a notable increase in the volume of research studies and reports that either focus exclusively on women entrepreneurs or explore entrepreneurship from a decidedly gender perspective (Jennings & Brush, 2013; Henry, Foss & Ahl, 2017; Marlow et al., 2017; GEM, 2018; & Kvidal, and Ljunngren, 2014). One aspect of women's entrepreneurship that has received limited scholarly attention is that of policy (Foss, Henry & Ahl, 2018). The limited number of research studies that have focused on this topic not only highlight its importance, but also identify a number of policy factors found to affect women's entrepreneurial endeavours in both developed and developing countries (Brush, de Bruin & Welter, 2009; & Langowitz, and Minniti, 2007). Such factors include, but are not limited to, a disproportionate focus on male-dominated sectors, an over-reliance on soft supports, inequality of access to networks, inequality of access to finance, and the perennial 'one-size-fits-all' approach (Coleman, Henry, Orser, Foss, & Welter, 2018). With specific regard to the latter, scholars recognise the need for policy supports to not only be gender-aware, but also to be contextualized within their relevant geographic, cultural and, where possible, sectoral setting if they are to be truly effective (Welter et al., 2014). Despite such acknowledgement, for the most part, gender aware policy formulation or contextualization either does not occur or is not readily apparent (Ahl & Nelson, 2015; Arshed, Carter & Mason, 2014). This is particularly the case in under-developed countries, where gender-related policies often struggle to move beyond basic equality levels, and gender-aware entrepreneurship policies remain an elusive luxury.

Aim: In an effort to address a clear gap in gender-related policy scholarship, the paper focuses on women's entrepreneurship policy in Sub-Saharan Africa, and critically explores the specific case of Tanzania. This is an important area given that the World Economic Forum (WEF) identified African businesswomen as: '*the way forward towards poverty reduction* 'for most of Sub-Saharan Africa. Women in Tanzania are both economically and socially disadvantaged (Kirumba, 2005; & Kiggundu, 2002). The most common barriers for Tanzanian female entrepreneurs relate to culture, stereotyping and discrimination; lack of access to capital, networks, information, technology and markets; and a poor level of education and work experience (Nziku & Struthers, 2018). Within rural suburban regions especially, women have no property rights and lack adequate knowledge of existing credit facilities (Nziku, 2014; Kirumba, 2005).

Our research question in this paper is two-fold, and asks: How are policies designed to encourage and support entrepreneurship in Tanzania gendered? How might such policies be (re)designed so that they are more relevant to women entrepreneurs in the Tanzanian context? In addressing these questions, the authors aim to draw attention to the particular context for women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania (an important economic region within Sub-Saharan Africa); identify specific gender biases inherent in current entrepreneurship policies; offer

meaningful recommendations for policy makers, and identify areas worthy of future research attention in this area.

Methodology and Methods: Following Henry et al. (2017) and Coleman et al. (2018), the authors apply an adapted reading guide technique to analyse and critique relevant entrepreneurship and related equality policy documents in Tanzania. The reading guide examines the category and type of policy/equality document being analysed, the gender breakdown of its authorship, overarching focus, key themes, target audience, content, language and imagery, as well as the key equality/policy recommendations being offered and their relevance to women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania and the wider Sub-Saharan African region. Any evidence of gender bias – whether explicit or implicit – is noted. The completed reading guide templates are then coded and collated into an excel spreadsheet. Drawing on institutional theory, findings are discussed and critiqued within a regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive framework (North, 1990; Scott, 2014).

The study builds on the Global Women's Enterprise Policy (GWEP) project¹ (Henry et al., 2017; Coleman et al., 2018). A lack of core women-focused entrepreneurship policy documents, as well as the currency of such documents were identified as some of the key methodological challenges at the outset of the study. Consistent with the GWEP methodology, documents analysed in this study were coded as: (1) *academic articles* (i.e. journal articles, book chapters, conference papers, etc.); (2) *policy documents* (i.e. official policy documents, policy statements, policy strategies issued by standing government concerning entrepreneurship or related equality measures); (3) *policy studies/reports* (i.e. documents produced by contracted organizations, researchers, or other bodies, evaluating extant policies and/or identifying gaps in current policies), and (4) *documents relating to practices/initiatives on the ground – including: small business/entrepreneurship programmes or related initiatives* (i.e. support projects/programmes on the ground established on behalf of government or its agents, the creation of new governmental bodies or structures, and new or revised laws or regulations).

Data gathered via the reading guides were supplemented by the research team's experience of working in the area of women's entrepreneurship policy, and their in-depth knowledge of such policy in Tanzania.

Contribution: Our contribution in this paper is two-fold. First, we contribute to contemporary scholarship on women's entrepreneurship by providing rich and valuable insights into the unique context for women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania. As such, the study sheds new light on how women's entrepreneurship is operationalized and supported in Sub-Saharan Africa – a geographical region that remains both under-developed and under-researched, with embedded challenges to equality and entrepreneurial endeavour not typically experienced in Western regions. Accordingly, Tanzania constitutes a 'new frontier' and a novel 'entrepreneurial place' in which to explore women's entrepreneurship. Secondly, we highlight the relatively ineffective nature of women's entrepreneurship policies that are essentially 'context neutral' in their design and, using institutional theory, demonstrate how contextualizing women's

¹Launched in 2014 at the Diana International Research Conference, Stockholm, the Global Women's Entrepreneurship Policy (Global WEP) project is a network of gender and entrepreneurship scholars from 29 countries who critically review and compare women's entrepreneurship policy from a gender perspective. For further details of the Global WEP methodological approach, see: Henry, C., Orser, B.J., Coleman, S., Foss, L. & Welter, F. (2017), and also Coleman, S., Henry, C., Orser, B., Foss, L. & Welter, F. (2018).

entrepreneurship policies is particularly important in an economically disadvantaged region such as Tanzania. Accordingly, we contribute to theory building in the specific areas of institutional theory and context - as they apply to women's entrepreneurship policy.

Policy Implications: The general contribution of this paper targets to bring great implication for women entrepreneurship policy within the Sub-Saharan Africa while using Tanzania as a case study. Our analysis found Tanzania entrepreneurship policies to focus on creating and enabling the business environment; developing infrastructure, and strengthening financial and non-financial services (URT, 2003). Entrepreneurship is identified as a means to address sustainable development challenges (notably unemployment and poverty) and expand opportunities for socially disadvantaged groups, especially women and youth. Entrepreneurship policies are found to be lacking in gender focus and, for the most part, fail to take account of the specific context in which Tanzanian women entrepreneurs operate.

Implications for Practice: Our study argues for policies designed to support women's entrepreneurship to be formalised and contextualised in their specific geographical, cultural and sectoral setting. The '*institutional pillars*' framework allows the authors to identify areas where contextualisation of women's entrepreneurship policies could be enhanced. Recommendations to explore new frontiers for policy-making in Tanzania and the greater Sub-Saharan Africa region are offered, and avenues for future research in this area are identified.

1. Introduction

As a discrete field of scholarship, women's entrepreneurship continues to grow in both academic and political appeal, with a notable increase in the volume of research studies and reports that either focus exclusively on women entrepreneurs or explore entrepreneurship from a decidedly gender perspective (Marlow & Martinez Dy, 2018; Jennings & Brush, 2013; Henry, Orser, Coleman, Foss & Welter. (2017); Al-Dajani & Marlow, 2013; Marlow, Cater & Shaw, 2008; Patterson, Ahl, Berglund, & Tillmar, (2017); GEM, 2018; & Kvidal, and Ljunngren, 2014). One aspect of women's entrepreneurship that has received limited scholarly attention is that of policy (Foss, Henry, Ahl & Mikalsen, 2018; Henry, Orser, Coleman, & Foss (2017); Rouse, Treanor & Fleck, 2013). This is somewhat surprising, given that governments and individuals around the world value entrepreneurship, and accordingly, encourage new venture creation (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM), 2019; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 2019). It is estimated that, globally, more than 126 million women entrepreneurs have started their own business, and 98 million have grown their business to provide employment opportunities in their local communities (GEM, 2016). Further evidence of women's entrepreneurial contribution to the economy can be found in recent empirical studies that show women-owned businesses to be amongst the fastest growing entrepreneurial population in the world, offering significant contributions to employment and wealth creation across all economies (Foss et al., 2018; GEM, 2019; Henry, Orser, Coleman, Foss & Welter. (2017); Jennings & Brush, 2013; Nziku, 2016; Nziku & Struthers 2018; Kvidal, & Ljunngren, 2014; & WEF, 2012).

The limited literature focused on entrepreneurship policy not only highlights its importance, but also identifies a number of policy factors found to affect women's entrepreneurial endeavours in both developed and developing countries (Brush, de Bruin & Welter, 2009; Foss et al., 2018; Orser et al., 2019; Nziku, 2016; Nziku and Struthers, 2018; & Norman, and Bager-Sjogren. 2011). Such factors include, but are not limited to: a disproportionate focus on male-dominated sectors, over-reliance on soft supports, inequality of access to networks, inequality

of access to finance, and the perennial ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach (Coleman, Henry, Orser, Foss & Welter, 2018). Ahl and Nelson (2015) further posit that most governments around the world develop policies (and then programmes) to promote business start-up and growth because the creation and support of infrastructure that encourages innovation and business development is seen as a worthwhile national investment in future economic prosperity. However, the majority of strategies, policies and programmes for women entrepreneurs are frequently evaluated for design and effectiveness rather than for their impact on the positioning of women in the context of life opportunities and equality.

Existing scholarship also recognises the need for policy support to not only be gender-aware, (Nziku & Struthers, 2018; Orser et al., 2019) but also to be contextualised within their relevant geographic, cultural and, where possible, sectoral setting if they are to be truly effective (Henry et al., 2017; Nziku, 2018; 2014 Welter et al., 2014; De Bruin, Brush, & Welter, 2007). Despite such acknowledgement, for the most part, gender aware policy formulation or contextualisation either does not occur or is not readily apparent (Arshed, Chalmers & Matthews, 2018; Anupama, 2016; Arshed, Mason & Carter, 2016; 2014; Ahl & Nelson, 2015; Welter et al., 2014; & Kvidal, & Ljunngren, 2014). This is particularly the case in under-developed countries, where gender-related policies often struggle to move beyond basic equality levels, and gender-aware entrepreneurship policy remains an elusive luxury. Based on scientific data gathered from both developed and developing countries in the past two decades, GEM (2019) and UNCTAD (2019) confirm the important contribution of entrepreneurship to employment and wellbeing of communities. This is specifically the case in low-income regions where entrepreneurs are found to play a major role in advancing their economies (GEM, 2019).

In an effort to address a gap in gender-related policy scholarship, this paper focuses on women’s entrepreneurship policy in a low income region - Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) - exploring the specific case of Tanzania. This focus is important given that both the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2012) and the United Nations Conference on Trade & Development (UNCTAD, 2019; 2014) have identified African businesswomen as: ‘*the way forward towards poverty reduction*’ for most of the SSA region.

Our research question in this paper is two-fold, and asks: How are policies, designed to encourage and support entrepreneurship in Tanzania, gendered? How might such policies be (re)designed so that they are more relevant to women entrepreneurs in the Tanzanian context? In addressing these questions, the authors aim to draw attention to the particular context for women’s entrepreneurship in Tanzania (an important economic region within Sub-Saharan Africa); identify specific gender biases inherent within current entrepreneurship policies; offer meaningful recommendations for policy makers, and identify areas worthy of future research attention in this area.

Our contribution in this paper is also two-fold. First, we contribute to contemporary scholarship on women’s entrepreneurship by providing rich and valuable insights into the unique context for women’s entrepreneurship in Tanzania. As such, the study sheds new light on how women’s entrepreneurship is operationalized and supported in SSA – a geographical region that remains both under-developed and under-researched, with embedded challenges to equality and entrepreneurial endeavour not typically experienced in Western regions. Accordingly, Tanzania constitutes a ‘new frontier’ and a novel ‘entrepreneurial place’ in which to explore women’s entrepreneurship. Secondly, we highlight the relatively ineffective nature of women’s entrepreneurship policies that are essentially ‘context neutral’ in their design and,

using institutional theory, demonstrate how contextualizing women's entrepreneurship policies is particularly important in an economically disadvantaged region such as Tanzania. Accordingly, we contribute to theory building in the specific areas of institutional theory and context - as they apply to women's entrepreneurship policy. The paper is structured as follows: the next section (section 2) reviews relevant literatures in the area of entrepreneurship policy, women's entrepreneurship and Tanzanian entrepreneurship and SME and policy by way of providing the theoretical context for the study. Section 3 presents our theoretical framework, and this is followed in section 4 by a detailed explanation of our methodological approach. Sections 5 and 6 present and discuss our findings, while section 7 draws conclusions and identifies avenues worthy of future research.

2. Theoretical Context

Conceptualising Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship Policy

According to Ahmad and Seymour (2008); Ahmad, & Hoffman. (2007), entrepreneurs are individuals who seek to generate value through the creation or expansion of economic activity, by identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets. While *entrepreneurship* is the phenomenon associated with entrepreneurial activity, *entrepreneurial activity* may be conceived of as enterprising human action in pursuit of the generation of economic value that may go beyond that of identifying and exploiting new products, processes or markets (Sing, Archer & Madan, 2018). Therefore, entrepreneurs can be conceived of as the mechanism by which an economy turns demand into supply (Smith, 1976). Entrepreneurs recognise consumer demands, and see the economic opportunities that satisfy them, while in many cases providing for their own families and creating employment for themselves and their immediate community. However, in the context of under-developed and economically disadvantaged regions, such as SSA countries, entrepreneurship may have a slightly different conceptualisation. In such regions, entrepreneurship is typically more necessity- than opportunity-driven, with entrepreneurial activities being significantly less innovative and often based on the simple replication of ideas to generate income to meet basic needs. Hence, entrepreneurship in economically disadvantaged regions is predominately driven by 'push' rather than 'pull' factors, where individuals are forced (as opposed to motivated or influenced) toward entrepreneurial endeavours (Eijdenberg & Masurel, 2013; Van der Zwan, Thurik, Verheul & Hessel, 2016). In such circumstances, a supportive and appropriately contextualised entrepreneurship policy is critical.

Entrepreneurship policy may be viewed as part of an economy's larger environmental system expected to support the development of entrepreneurial endeavours (Anupama, 2016; & Minniti, & Nardone, 2007; Audretsch, Grilo & Thurik, 2007). Hopkins (2017) defines public policy as the action taken by government to address a particular public issue in order to protect and benefit the population, while a (related) strategy is a plan on how to gain and sustain competitive advantage based on local strengths and weaknesses. Lundstrom and Stevenson (2002:10); & Blackburn, & Smallbone, (2011) were among the first researchers to differentiate and categorize SME and entrepreneurship policies, whereby SMEs policy pertains to small businesses as '*entities*' and entrepreneurship policy is "*...oriented more towards individuals and individual behaviour.*" Examining the impact of SME/entrepreneurship policy, Lundstrom and Stevenson (2002) suggest that good practice should focus on the centrality of the founder/owner, because "*...it is individuals who create new businesses and develop existing ones*". In later work, they define entrepreneurship policy in three stages: policies that are aimed

at the *pre-start*, *start-up* or early *post-start-up* phases of the entrepreneurial process (Lundström & Stevenson, 2005).

Consistent with (Lundstrom and Stevenson 2002; Shane, 2009; & Storey 2005) notes that *SME* policy has often been mistaken for *entrepreneurship* policy, with the two categories of policy used interchangeably, yet they are two separate entities with considerable differences. For example, *SME* policies are targeted at existing businesses/enterprises, seeking to provide advice and information to help with firm-related problems (for instance; compliance with regulations and reporting requirements). Entrepreneurship policies are targeted at individuals who are considering, are about to or have recently started a new business. Furthermore, entrepreneurship policies are intended to encourage socially and economically productive activities carried out by individuals (Henrekson & Stenkula, 2009). Their main objective is to increase the level of entrepreneurial activity, which may be below the social optimum. In most economies, entrepreneurship policy is perceived as an instrument designed to create jobs and promote international competitiveness, economic development and growth. Accordingly, Rigby and Ramlogan (2013) argue that, if government wants to increase the level of entrepreneurial activity in any country, entrepreneurship policies need to be implemented. Recognising the important role of policy, many governments around the globe have implemented policies for boosting entrepreneurship in their respective countries (Henry et al., 2017; Minniti, & Nardone, 2007; Nziku, 2016; 2014; & Minniti, Arenius & Langowitz. 2005).

Women's Entrepreneurship and Entrepreneurship Policy in Tanzania

While there is now a considerable body of literature on women's entrepreneurship, there is still a relative dearth of studies focused specifically on women's entrepreneurship policy, especially in the context of under-developed or poverty stricken regions such as those in the SSA region. Amongst the existing policy studies relating to women's entrepreneurship, scholars have reported on the different types of gender-focused policies (Mayoux, 2001; Orser & Riding, 2006), modelled gender effects on the start-up decision (Minniti & Nardone, 2007), and analysed the provision of women's entrepreneurship policies in specific countries (for example: Poland, Zapalska, 1997; the UK and US, Marlow et al., 2008; Canada, Orser, 2014). Some of the more recent studies have conducted comparative policy studies (Foss et al., 2018; Henry et al., 2017), however, these have been restricted to mainly western or developed economies. In an attempt to address this research gap, this paper focuses on women's entrepreneurship policy in Tanzania.

Similar to many SSA countries, Tanzanian women entrepreneurs are economically and socially disadvantaged (GEM, 2018; Nziku, 2018; Isaga, 2018; Nziku, 2016; 2014; Kirumba, 2005). For example, about 60% of Tanzanian women live in absolute poverty, despite being responsible for producing an estimated 80% of the country's cash crops (Isaga, 2018; Kirumba, 2005; Nziku, 2014). Tanzanian women have very limited access to the (albeit low levels of) wealth generated from the production of these crops, although they continue to be the major players in agricultural activities. This is due to the increasing poverty among the rural and urban population, with an increasing gap between rich and poor, men and women, and among women themselves. Within the rural and urban suburbs, women do not have property rights and lack adequate knowledge of existing credit facilities (Kirumba, 2005; & Kiggundu, 2002). This appears to be due to women's low level of education, knowledge and skills, as well as their reliance on poor technology that consumes most of their time and energy (Nziku, 2014; 2012). The most common barriers for female entrepreneurs within Tanzania can be categorised as: personal; cultural; stereotyping and discrimination; access to capital, information and networks; access to technologies and markets; lack of experience, and poor education (Nziku

& Struthers, 2018; Nziku, 2014; 2016). UNCTAD (2019) suggests that these conditions are a reflection of the wider social constraints and challenges that women face. Even if appropriate equality-related legislation were in place, women would undoubtedly continue to face discrimination due to a lack of political empowerment and enforcement of applicable laws.

Entrepreneurship and SME Policy in Tanzania

In 2003, the Tanzanian government developed its “SME Policy and Strategies” (URT, 2003). The key objectives were to: create and enable the business environment; develop infrastructure and strengthen both financial and non-financial services through the strengthening of institutions to support SME development (URT, 2003). The following strategies were proposed:

- Inculcate, through education, training and other programmes, values and attitudes that are conducive to the development of entrepreneurship
- Review school curricula to accommodate entrepreneurship development
- Introduce entrepreneurial programmes in vocational and technical training
- Facilitate entrepreneurship development programmes for selected target groups/sectors e.g. school leavers
- Facilitate capacity building in entrepreneurship development
- Discussion on the absence of any gendered strategy.

Subsequently, in December 2012, the Tanzanian General Assembly adopted its first resolution on entrepreneurship (A/RES/67/202), in which it identified entrepreneurship as a means to address sustainable development challenges: unemployment, poverty and the expansion of opportunities for all, including socially disadvantaged groups, especially women and youth.

In 2000, the Tanzanian government amended its 1977 Constitution to recognise the important role played by women in their local communities, as well as the contribution they make to the economy. This was followed by a further amendment in 2004 aimed at increasing women’s participation in the National Parliament and Local Authorities. These amendments were in addition to the formulation of the Women and Gender Development Policy (WGDP, 2000). In order to ensure effective implementation of the WGDP, a National Strategy for Gender Development (NSGD, 2008) for promoting gender equality and equity was formulated.

3. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Approach to Analysing Women’s Entrepreneurship Policy

Contemporary scholarship suggests that the main objective of most entrepreneurship policies centres on the provision of support to ‘do business.’ This may be achieved by easing administrative business processes, reducing legislative barriers and facilitating access to the resources required to start-up new businesses, as well as manage and grow existing ones (Acs & Virgil, 2011; GEM, 2018; Henry et al., 2017). The most common interventions tend to include: improving access to finance, reduction of taxes, structured government programmes; school and post-school level entrepreneurship education and training; R&D transfer support; access to commercial and professional infrastructure; access to domestic and international markets; access to infrastructure, and efforts to recognise and account for the influence of social and cultural norms (GEM, 2017-2018; 2015; Nziku, 2018; & Kuzilwa, 2005). However, there are significant differences in the nature and scope of policy support across countries (GEM,

2018), with innovation-driven economies typically having more government support for entrepreneurship. As a factor-driven economy, Tanzania does not fare well in this regard.

Institutional theory

Institutions can be defined as devised rules, conventions and codes of behaviours that constrain actors through sets of incentives and disincentives that channel human behaviour in a particular direction, thus creating stable structures that promote efficiency in human interactions by reducing uncertainty and transaction costs (North, 1990). Institutions provide structure and order through aligning the actions and expectations of individuals in society (Friel, 2017). Accordingly, interactions become more efficient because perceptions and understandings become implicit without the need for explanation or negotiation.

According to Paul (1994), institutions help coordinate actions between diverse actors in society without the need for centralisation, although they may limit what actors can do. Coordination becomes possible as actors share histories that provide them with consistent expectations. Therefore, institutions determine the actions of individuals in society, providing shared meaning and cognitive frames that shape how humans interpret the behaviour of others (Scott, 2014). Despite the constant interaction between formal and informal institutions, as argued by both North (1990) and Williamson (2000), contemporary scholarship still lacks clear consensus on how such interactions can influence *entrepreneurial* activities (Bjornskov & Foss, 2016).

Scott (2014) describes the regulative aspects of institutions as the ‘rules of the game’ which consist of both written and unwritten codes; these codes have particular enforcement mechanisms. Normative aspects are the norms and values that structure individual choices, advising individuals how things should/ought to be done. While both regulative and normative aspects of institutions provide a stabilising force in society, actors will internalise them in different ways. Table 1 summarises some of the key theories on institutions, highlighting the particular aspects emphasised in each. While not explicitly stated, the ‘formal’ and ‘informal’ dimensions of institutions appear to be common to all.

Table 1: Theories of Institutions

North (1990)	Williamson (2000)	Schmidt (2010)	Scott (2005; 2014)
Formal Informal	Customs Norms Formal Rules	Sociological Institutionalism Rational Choice Institutionalism	Cognitive Regulative

Source: Adapted from Friel, (2017)

Sarasvathy, Dew, Velamuri & Venkataraman. (2003), suggest that, with regard to entrepreneurship, the role of institutions and governments should be based on fostering environments and conditions that produce a continuous supply of new entrepreneurs, supporting their efforts to grow their businesses.

While some countries have dedicated entrepreneurship policies and initiatives, others simply include them within other mainstream support policies. This is often the case with women’s entrepreneurship policies which may exist separately in some countries, or are subsumed into generic entrepreneurship policies in others. In some cases, countries have been found to have

no dedicated women's entrepreneurship policy, yet have dedicated women's entrepreneurship support initiatives in operation on the ground (Henry et al., 2017).

Studies conducted by Sundin (2016; 2011) in Sweden showed that support for SMEs and support for women entrepreneurs and/or owner-managers was introduced under a general 'Industry Policy.' This was challenged within Sweden in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when SMEs began to be perceived as valuable for both employers as well as local markets (Sundin, 2016). Women entrepreneurs were rarely considered as part of this policy.

Notwithstanding the above, as noted by Naude (2013; 2010), designing and introducing policies to promote entrepreneurship in developing countries is challenging and can become more complex over time. This is especially the case in under-developed and impoverished countries such as Tanzania, which along with most SSA countries, already struggle to deal with major economic and environmental problems such as global warming/climate change, civil war, migration, terrorism and economic crises, all of which have a particularly devastating impact.

4. Methodology and Methods

Following Henry et al. (2017) and Coleman et al. (2018), the authors apply an adapted reading guide technique to analyse and critique relevant entrepreneurship and related equality policy documents in Tanzania. The reading guide examines the category and type of policy/equality document being analysed, the gender breakdown of its authorship, overarching focus, key themes, target audience, content, language and imagery, as well as the key equality/policy recommendations being offered and their relevance to women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania and the wider SSA region. Any evidence of gender bias – whether explicit or implicit – is noted. The completed reading guide templates are then coded and collated into an excel spreadsheet. Drawing on institutional theory, findings are discussed and critiqued within a regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive framework (North, 1990; Scott, 2014).

The study builds on the Global Women's Enterprise Policy (GWEP) project² (Henry et al., 2017; Coleman et al., 2018). A lack of core women-focused entrepreneurship policy documents, as well as the currency of such documents were identified as some of the key methodological challenges at the outset of the study. Consistent with the Global WEP methodology, documents analysed in this study were coded as: (1) *academic articles* (i.e. journal articles, book chapters, conference papers, etc.); (2) *policy documents* (i.e. official policy documents, policy statements, policy strategies issued by standing government concerning entrepreneurship or related equality measures); (3) *policy studies/reports* (i.e. documents produced by contracted organizations, researchers, or other bodies, evaluating extant policies and/or identifying gaps in current policies), and (4) *documents relating to practices/initiatives on the ground – including: small business/entrepreneurship programmes or related initiatives* (i.e. support projects/programmes on the ground established on behalf of government or its agents, the creation of new governmental bodies or structures, and new or

²Launched in 2014 at the Diana International Research Conference, Stockholm, the Global Women's Entrepreneurship Policy (Global WEP) project is a network of gender and entrepreneurship scholars from 29 countries who critically review and compare women's entrepreneurship policy from a gender perspective. For further details of the Global WEP methodological approach, see: Henry, C., Orser, B.J., Coleman, S., Foss, L. & Welter, F. (2017), and also Coleman, S., Henry, C., Orser, B., Foss, L. & Welter, F. (2018).

revised laws or regulations). Consistent with the Global WEP methodology, the research team felt that these different categories of document were required due to the general lack of specific entrepreneurship policy documents in many countries, and as a consequence, the tendency to rely on other types of documentary evidence, such as academic policy-focused publications that may – in the absence of such policy documents - critique policy voids and argue for particular policy frameworks.

Data gathered via the reading guides were supplemented by the research team's experience of working in the area of women's entrepreneurship policy, and their in-depth knowledge of such policy in Tanzania. Given that Tanzania is an under-researched area, this study constitutes the exploration of a 'new frontier', examining women's entrepreneurship policy and practice in the SSA region, with a particular focus on Tanzania. The specific policy documents examined included:

- *Women in Development in Tanzania (URT, 1992)*
- *The United Republic of Tanzania (URT): Small and Medium Enterprise Development Policy (URT, 2003)*
- *Tanzania SME Development Policy 2003 - "Ten Years After" Implementation Review (UNIDO, 2012)*

5. Findings

Document Type and Authorship

The "Women in Development in Tanzania" (1992) policy was prepared by the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children. While the "United Republic of Tanzania (URT): Small and Medium Enterprise Development Policy" was authored by the Ministry of Industry and Trade (MIT), its policy review document ten years after implementation was authored by the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). While, in each case, the gender of the author team was not specified, the spread of authorship could indicate a lack of coherency amongst the policies.

Imagery and Language

The imagery used on the cover of the "Women in Development" policy document depicted notions of equality, reducing women's workload and women in development. However, the SME policy document used images depicting SMEs, gender, women and disadvantaged groups with the same images re-appearing on the SME policy document ten years after the implementation. Some of the images could be perceived as being too general and/or too neutral, with others being '*politically correct*' or '*civil service style*'. Interestingly, none of the policy documents used images that could be interpreted as being of women entrepreneurs.

The language used in the selected policy documents was both general and neutral. Women entrepreneurs were categorised as a disadvantaged group, one that includes the most vulnerable people in society (i.e: children, youth, the elderly and the disabled). The language showed no evidence of empowering women within the community; rather, the capability and contribution of this group was completely disregarded, despite the fact that women in Tanzania often contribute more than men to their local communities. While none of the policy documents was found to have used gendered language specifically, the inclusion of women within a disadvantaged and vulnerable group automatically depicts them as 'less than' or 'other', hence perpetuating their subordination (Marlow et al., 2014).

Themes, Recommendations and Relevance to Women's Entrepreneurship

The key themes covered in the "Policy on Women in Development" document focused on: equality and human rights, women's development, reduction of workload, and consideration of gender in planning processes. While the "SME policy" document focused primarily on SMEs, it placed greater emphasis on micro-entities (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMES)) as well as entrepreneurship. The specific relevance of these documents to women is articulated in the recommendations they put forward: a) provide a correct interpretation of the concept of women's development (e.g; overcoming both customs and traditional practices that militate women in the society); b) ensure recognition and appreciation of various activities performed by women in society through the establishment of national plans and programmes for reducing women's workload; c) introduce gender sensitive plans with equitable distribution of resources; d) establish a dedicated body that would coordinate, frame and issue guidelines and follow-up the implementation of women's development issues; and e) ensure the full participation and involvement of women in national development programmes in order to tap and fully utilise abilities/potentials.

The policy on "Women in Development" (URT, 1992) stipulates that: *'(the) Government will ensure that gender mainstreaming is enhanced in all initiatives pertaining to SMEs development'*. The policy statement focuses on the encouragement of women in the participation of SME activities by means of the following strategies:

- Facilitating SME service providers in designing special programmes for women and disadvantaged groups
- Identifying factors inhibiting women and disadvantaged groups from going into business, and designing programmes that will address those factors

However, Tanzania already has some policies on *gender and development, women's affairs and development policy, social welfare policy, youth and development policy, community development policy, family development policy, national population policy, water policy, civil servant policy, employment policy as well as education and training policy*. All of these policies have been formed as part of the government's initiatives for promoting female entrepreneurs as they are geared toward empowering Tanzanian females, which is a key part of the 4th World Women Conference in Beijing (UN, 1997).

The 'Women in Development Policy' (URT, 1992) focuses – as its title suggests – specifically on women, as the country believes in equality and human rights. The policy aims to help large political parties, leaders, government institutions and non-governmental organisations to better understand the important contribution women make to the Tanzanian community and society at large. According to URT (1992), the concept of the women in development policy is about empowering women in order to make them realise their full potential. The URT (1992) policy intended to achieve this through: i) promoting equality; ii) recognising women's potential in society; iii) Recognising women's ability to make decisions that affect their lives; iv) utilising resources and producing labour; v) integrating women's issues in all sectoral development plans; vi) statistical indication of the contribution made in the development process by both men and women; vii) eradicating barriers hindering women from access to education and training opportunities; viii) eradicating ideas, conduct, norms, values, customs and traditions that hinder women from fully participating in economic, social, and political development; ix) eradicating harassment and discrimination of women on sexual grounds; x) ensuring safe maternal and motherhood services on sexual grounds; and, xi) promoting the talents of women. Furthermore, the policy on women in development advocates the general reduction of women's

workload through an assessment of the scope and quantity of their work. It should be noted that the “Policy on Women in Development” assumes that it will be implemented concurrently with other sectoral policies, strategies and government decisions.

Relevance to women’s entrepreneurship

The direct relevance of the ‘Women in Development’ policy (URT, 1992) to women’s entrepreneurship lies in its five main purposes which are: i) to provide a correct interpretation of the concept of women’s development. Such interpretation is intended to play an important role in overcoming customs and traditional practices which militate against women; ii) to ensure the recognition and appreciation of various activities performed by women in society through the establishment of national plans and programmes for reducing women’s workload; iii) to establish gender sensitive plans with equitable distribution of resources; iv) to establish a body that would coordinate, frame and issue guidelines and follow-up the implementation of the women’s development issues; v) to ensure full participation and involvement of women in national development programmes in order to tap and fully utilise abilities/potentials.

The SME Development Policy (URT, 2003) focuses on enhancing and supporting general business development services (p.20; section 5.3); entrepreneurship (section: 5.3.1) and gender and disadvantaged groups (ie: youths and disabled) (section: 5.7.2). In order to develop entrepreneurship in the country, the policy states that: *‘the government will promote entrepreneurship development through facilitating improved access of SMEs to financial and non-financial services.’* The government also planned to enhance gender mainstreaming in all initiatives pertaining to SME development. This was to be achieved by encouraging women and other disadvantaged groups to participate in SMEs activities through; a) facilitating SMEs service providers to design special programmes for women and disadvantaged groups; b) identifying factors inhibiting women and other disadvantaged groups from going into business, and designing programmes which will address these factors.

Relevance to women’s entrepreneurship

The SME Development Policy (URT, 2003) acknowledges the fact that men and women are not on an equal footing, and thus there is a need for specific measures to promote women entrepreneurs. The URT (2003) policy also acknowledges that women are a significant part of the Tanzanian labour force and, as such, any meaningful effort must be mainstreamed to women (p.20). Accordingly, the SME Development Policy can be viewed as relevant to Tanzanian female entrepreneurs. This is because it recognises that, despite their contribution to the provision of labour within their communities, women still have less access to productive resources such as land, credit and education; a situation that is mostly due to cultural barriers. The policy document is clear on the need to rectify the situation by facilitating women’s involvement in economic activities through their participation in SME activities.

Disappointingly, the SME Development Policy (URT, 2003) seems to have made little or no contribution to Tanzanian women entrepreneurs. This is further evidenced in the ‘Ten Years After’ implementation review document in which gender inequality is found to persist in the country. The policy document is more about SME development than entrepreneurship, and the gender dimension is simply not given enough attention.

The Operationalisation of Entrepreneurship Policy

It is clear from the documents reviewed in this study that efforts have been made over the past few decades to address gender inequalities in the context of entrepreneurship and SME participation in Tanzania. However, the significantly disadvantaged conditions in which women operate remain a major challenge to the country's socio-economic development. The documents reviewed here prompted the operationalisation of a number of women's entrepreneurship initiatives and programmes, including:

- *Women Entrepreneurship Development Unit (SIDO-WED)*: Focuses specifically on “training the trainers” and training of entrepreneurs in the food processing sector (including food hygiene); the development of management and entrepreneurial skills. Assistance was received for these programmes from other donors, including the Commonwealth secretariat and the Centre for Development of Enterprise (CDE). SIDO-Wed also supported the creation of The Association of Food Processors (TAFOPA), and is currently supporting and strengthening the Tanzania Women Chambers of Commerce (TWCC). To date, SIDO-WED has trained more than 9,000 entrepreneurs, most of whom are women, with more than 4,000 operating from micro to small agro-processing enterprises.
- *Tanzania Handcraft Association (TANCRAFT)*: This organisation, together with the Hand-products of Tanzania (HOT), works very closely with SIDO to empower women.
- *Tanzania Gatsby Trust (TGT)*: A charitable organisation working with partners to transform young entrepreneurs, women-led SMEs, smallholder farmers and Women Business (WB), which is the business incubator without walls programme focusing on growth-oriented micro and small enterprises operated by women.

The policies are discussed further below in the context of our theoretical framework.

6. Discussion

Our analysis of Tanzanian entrepreneurship policy and strategy documents shows that despite having a “Policy on women in development”, the URT does not have a clear and distinct policy on women's entrepreneurship. This is contrary to some other developed and developing economies, including: Norway, Sweden, Pakistan and the USA, which have very formalised women-focused entrepreneurship policies (Henry, et al., 2017). However, despite the absence of a dedicated policy, URT does operate a number of initiatives and programmes targeted specifically at women entrepreneurs, although many are positioned within the same category as other vulnerable communities (e.g., children, elderly and the disabled).

Below we discuss the URT's policies in the context of our theoretical framework, drawing on Scott's three pillars, as illustrated in Figure 1.

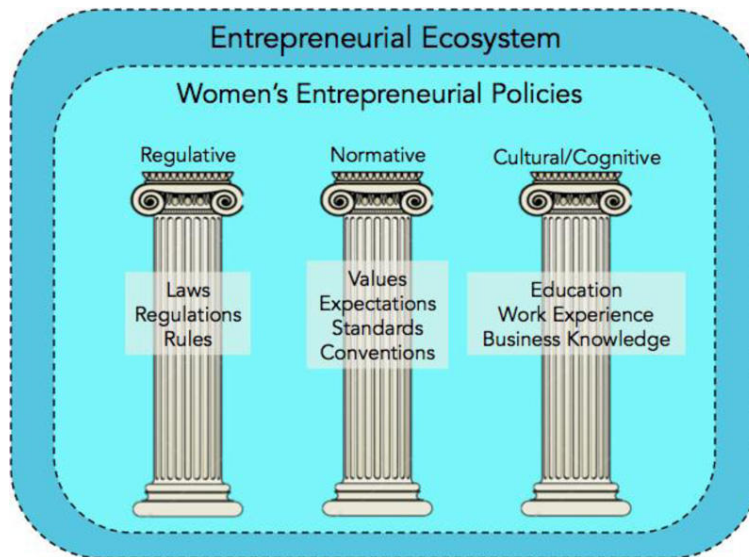


Figure 1: Scott's Institutional Pillars (Source: Henry et al., 2017, p.228)

a) Regulative pillar

The *regulative pillar* relates to rules and regulations, for example, the Tanzanian government's structural dimensions, and the bureaucracy associated with business set-up and operation. Bureaucracy in this case includes the Tanzania Revenue Authority's (TRA) taxation, legal and other fiscal aspects of policy formation including welfare systems. Given that women in Tanzania still have difficulty accessing key resources for entrepreneurship, such as land, finance and education, the process within this 'institution' needs further simplification, with more clarity for all stakeholders and citizens. If effective support for women's entrepreneurship is to be provided in Tanzania, then the regulatory pillar needs to acknowledge Tanzanian women's significant disadvantaged position, account for the particular context in which they operate, and develop policies that directly address this. Dedicated, education and training programmes, with hands on mentoring and guidance, could help in this regard.

b) Normative pillar

The *normative pillar* relates to all the expectations, values and conventions that underpin and influence start-up and entrepreneurial behaviour. This particular pillar includes society's expectations of women, together with those of family role and related responsibilities, as well as the influence of these factors on women seeking to start-up and develop their entrepreneurial ventures. Evidence from our analysis of Tanzanian policy documents suggests that the URT government is strong on the normative dimension, with highly complicated and challenging systematic barriers to women's entrepreneurial development. This finding is consistent with the study by Henry et al. (2017), where a similar situation was found to exist not only in Tanzania but also in Pakistan. Again, if meaningful developments are to be made in relation to women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania, the influence of society's expectations of women need to be better acknowledged and addressed. The fact that existing Tanzanian policies simply 'bundle' women into the same disadvantaged category as 'children, disabled and elderly' is not helpful. A dedicated 'categorisation' with more positive connotations is needed.

c) Cultural-cognitive pillar

The *cultural-cognitive pillar* symbolises the values that are perceived as influencing the entrepreneurial behaviour of individuals, as well as the extent to which they accept

entrepreneurship as a viable career path or a means of making a living. Previous studies (see, for example, Henry et al., 2017) argued that cognitive aspects comprised entrepreneurial self-efficacy, that is, an individual's perceived preparedness for becoming an entrepreneur, including one's level of education, work experience and business knowledge. Within the URT, this particular pillar was strongly evidenced, with considerable emphasis placed on the need for women to gain education, training and business support to improve their entrepreneurial knowledge, skills and experiences and, as a consequence, presumably, enhance their entrepreneurial self-efficacy. However, as previous studies have shown (Coleman et al., 2018), while cultural-cognitive aspects are particularly influential on entrepreneurship, they require specific attention because culture, by its very nature, is not something that can be easily changed. In the context of Tanzania, this particular dimension is likely to be the most challenging for policy makers. A dedicated entrepreneurship education programme that accounts for the particular challenges women face, potentially boosting self-efficacy and creating entrepreneurial role models for other women to aspire to, could be one possible avenue for policy makers to pursue.

7. Conclusions

In this paper we set out to examine entrepreneurship policy designed to support women's entrepreneurship in Tanzania. Our research question was twofold and asked: How are policies, designed to encourage and support entrepreneurship in Tanzania, gendered? How might such policies be (re)designed so that they are more relevant to women entrepreneurs in the Tanzanian context? To address these questions, we examined core Tanzanian entrepreneurship policy documents using a detailed reading guide, and then applied institutional theory to analyse findings.

The policy documents reviewed in this study clearly recognised the challenges facing women and made some effort to alleviate these to support them in their entrepreneurial endeavours, e.g., reducing workload to women and other social burdens (URT, 2003). However, the language and imagery used often portrayed women as vulnerable, weak, under-represented and disadvantaged, thus perpetuating the notion of women as 'other' alongside the privileged position of their male counterparts. Patterson, et al. (2017) revealed similar findings in their Scandinavian study, where policy efforts were found to be lacking a clear formulation of feminist goals. This was both in terms of social change for women, such as entrepreneurship as a means towards women's personal and financial well-being, and other gendered societal changes such as challenging gendered social hierarchies or changing (male) entrepreneurial norms. Subsequently, the policies they studied did not seek to improve women's standing in society relative to men; rather, the policies implicitly supported the existing status quo.

Our analysis found Tanzania entrepreneurship policies to focus on creating and enabling the business environment; developing infrastructure, and strengthening financial and non-financial services (URT, 2003). Here, entrepreneurship is identified as a means to address sustainable development challenges (notably unemployment and poverty), and expand opportunities for socially disadvantaged groups, especially women and youth. We also found the URT's entrepreneurship policies to be lacking in gender focus and, for the most part, failing to take account of the specific context in which Tanzanian women entrepreneurs operate. Although Tanzania has a specific policy on women's development, which seems to contain a number of strategies that help pave the way toward women's entrepreneurship in the country, a dedicated women's entrepreneurship policy with a direct focus on women's entrepreneurial activities is

still required. Simply recognising and including women in the economic development agenda is not sufficient to improve the status of women's entrepreneurship in the country. Nonetheless, the policies we reviewed in this study could be said to positively contribute to URT's overall 'journey' toward a dedicated women's entrepreneurship policy. We also acknowledge that, as previous scholarship has attested, entrepreneurship policymaking is a complex and messy business (Lundström & Stevenson, 2005), and there is no 'quick fix', especially when dealing with under-developed and poverty stricken regions.

Recommendations and avenues for future research

Based on our findings, we recommend that existing entrepreneurship initiatives and programmes in Tanzania now need to be fully evaluated to assess their effectiveness in promoting and supporting women's entrepreneurship. However, further empirical work is also required in order to develop an understanding of the disconnect between policies intended to support nascent women entrepreneurs, and those designed to provide operational business support for existing women entrepreneurs. This study argues for policies and initiatives designed to support women's entrepreneurship to be formalised and contextualised within their specific geographical, cultural and sectoral setting. The '*institutional pillars*' framework has helped identify some specific areas where Tanzanian women's entrepreneurship policies could be enhanced and better contextualised. Building on these areas, future scholars could explore a number of important research avenues. Firstly, women's entrepreneurship scholarship would benefit from exploring the impact of context on women's entrepreneurship policy development in other disadvantaged regions, comparing findings with those of our Tanzanian study. While we analysed documentary policy data for our study, future studies could build on this foundation by augmenting their evidence base with qualitative case studies to gather valuable insights into the entrepreneurial endeavours of real women entrepreneurs in their respective policy contexts. Secondly, future scholars might explore the potential influence of positive categorisation in relation to women and policy making, prompting policy makers to refrain from 'bundling' women into broad disadvantaged groups with negative connotations that serve to perpetuate their subordination and highlight the notion of women as 'other' - constantly needing to be 'fixed.' Thirdly and finally, at some point scholars need to conduct meaningful policy evaluation studies in disadvantaged regions, potentially drawing on some of the ideas we have presented here, to illustrate the need to contextualise women's entrepreneurship policy, and the benefits to be achieved by doing so.

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